

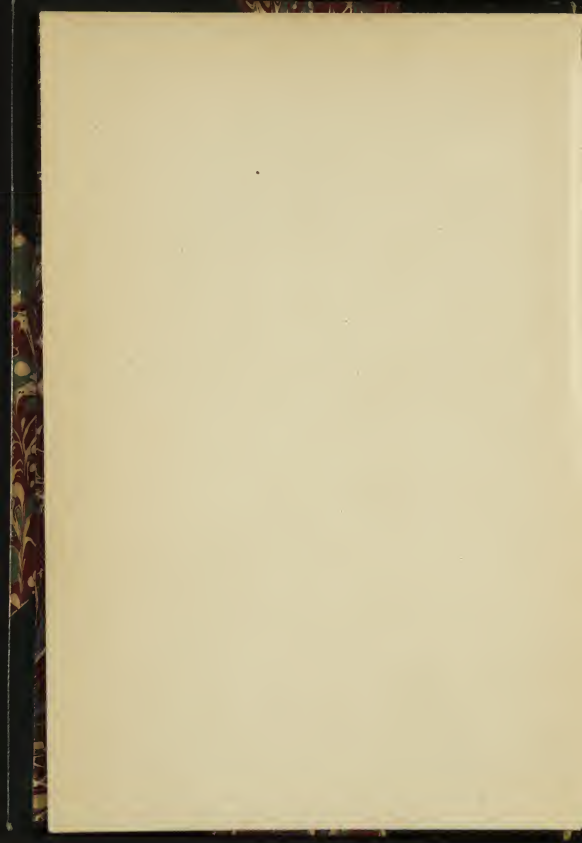
GUACANAGARI PONTIAC BLACK HAWK  
 MONTEZUMA CAPTAIN PIPE KEOKUK  
 GUATIMOTZIN LOGAN SAGACAWTEA  
 POWHATAN CORNPLANTER BENITO JUAREZ  
 POCAHONTAS JOSEPH BRANT MANGUS  
 SAMOSET RED JACKET COLORADAS  
 MASSASOIT LITTLE TURTLE LITTLE CROW  
 KING PHILIP TECUMSEH SITTING BULL  
 UNCAS OSCEOLA CHIEF JOSEPH  
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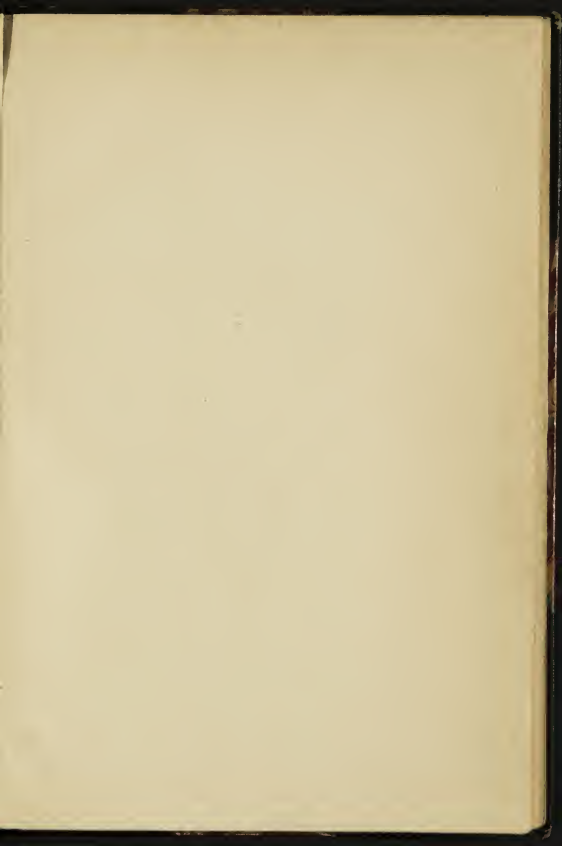


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*In Reply*  
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AN ESSAY

*Mr. Logan*  
*May 1882*  
ON

*Reduction.*  
"OUR INDIAN QUESTION,"

BY

CAPTAIN E. BUTLER.

5TH INFANTRY, U. S. A.

"Evidently the fruit of careful, thorough and accurate historical  
research."—Report of the Board of Award of the Military  
Service Institution of the U. S.

*And a distorted mind, as a  
biological one*

NEW YORK:

A. G. SHERWOOD & Co., PRINTERS, 76 EAST NINTH STREET.

1882.



By all odds the bloodiest  
book I have ever read, because  
Civilized Nations have taken certain  
action in case of infraction of treaty  
his intention. Individual claims  
that this Government should take  
the same or more drastic action  
than from United States. Not  
only the Nation, but of Humanity.  
Then poor people who are being  
morally & physically Robbed & Murdered  
them with the Six-Pack of our  
Bible & Bible in one hand &  
Whisky & Overice in the other.

Copyright, 1882, by E. B.

Not any one with the shape of  
man should hold these views  
or beyond my Comprehension &  
above all that he should wear  
the Uniform of the U.S. Army.  
He has misquoted history in  
nearly every case in not stating the  
cause of war & not giving the  
truth as to the aggressor. It is  
a hoax - And I shoud anyone



# NOTE.

The Board of Award of the Military Service Institution of the U. S., on the Prize Essay for 1880, composed of Hon. GEO. W. McCRARY, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S., and late Secretary of War, General JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, U. S. House of Representatives, and Brig.-General ALFRED H. TERRY, U. S. Army, selected this essay from the number submitted to it as one of three "especially meritorious," and pronounced it in their report "evidently the fruit of careful, thorough and accurate historical research."

The desire to do some little toward correcting many false ideas regarding the treatment of the Indian tribes by the Government of the United States, and the requests of friends made from the same motive, have induced the writer of the Essay to publish it in pamphlet form.

A number of serious typographical errors which obscured or distorted the meaning of several passages in the first publication of this Essay have been corrected.

FORT KEOGH, M. T., Nov., 1881.

in number to  
Indian with slaughter  
north & enslavement  
as well if in the  
south the post-  
400 years has  
been a perpetual  
victim of  
Crime Against  
Him. I mean  
Red & Angles  
a Book even if the  
Indian had been  
the equal in  
knowledge & experience  
& ability  
entitled to be considered in  
number of the nation  
to be equal to the  
white man

[illegible]

# AN ESSAY

ON

## "OUR INDIAN QUESTION."

BY CAPTAIN E. BUTLER, 5TH. INFANTRY.

THE condition of the Red Men of the North American continent when they were first met by their white brothers, was as low as that of any race of which history has preserved a record. In intellectual development they were but one remove above the wild animals they hunted. They had no science, no art worthy of the name. They had no industry, no manufactures. Their vesture was the skins of beasts killed in the chase, and the flesh of these furnished almost their only means of subsistence. They knew nothing of instruments of iron. They had no domestic animals. Their agriculture was limited to the cultivation of a little maize to supplement the produce of the chase. Even this scanty crop was raised by the labor of the women. The Red Man was a polygamist, and the Red Woman was his slave—the slave of his lust, his indolence and his pride.

The religion of the Red Man was a mixture of polytheism and fetichism of the lowest and most depressing description. He made gods of trees and stones, of the phenomena of nature, of birds or animals possessing some singularity of form or color. He believed in magic arts, amulets and charms. In

*Managers Coleridge Berkenmo Red Jacket Logan & many other notable men of different nations. Understood*

his sombre imagination his gods existed only to torment and persecute him. He tried to assuage their ire or propitiate their favor by bloody sacrifices. He was in constant fear of the Spirits of the Dead. The Great Spirit was powerless for good. The Evil Spirit was omnipotent for harm. The latter was the chief object of his worship, the deity to whom he made his choicest offerings. He had no idea of future punishment for crime. He did not believe that his actions in this world had any relation to his after-life in the happy hunting grounds. His theory of his creation—when he had any—was obscure and absurd. In general, he knew that he existed and nothing more.

The Indian had no laws for the punishment of crime. Murder was the only wrong, and that was punished by private revenge or condoned on composition. His only history was a wild and unstable tradition. His life was a state of continual alarm. He slept upon his arms ; for he was hunted by his brother Indian, and hunted him in turn as he chased the wild beasts which furnished him his clothing and his food, except that he did not savagely torture the latter as he did the former.

The proud possessor of illimitable regions, as poets delight to picture him, had nothing he could call his own beyond the weapons he carried and the skins that covered him. His broad acres he held only until stronger tribes coveted them, and took them from him because game was more plentiful on them than on their own hunting grounds. He breathed an atmosphere of blood. Personal enmities and ri-

valries in his own tribe—tribal feuds without it, transmitted from savage sire to son for generations—caused his hand to be against every other Red Man and every other Red Man's hand to be against him.

Inter-tribal wars were not waged merely to subdue, to dispossess, to expatriate: their end was annihilation. In these contests, the conquerors spared neither age nor sex—the squaw tottering under the weight of years, the child just newly born. They reasoned that children spared grow into warriors and warriors beget others, so they killed all. The Indian victor's policy toward the Indian vanquished was extermination. Their truces were of short duration. They observed the conditions only until they could take the enemy at a disadvantage. Their treachery was equal to their cruelty.

The claim of an Indian tribe to the country they hunted in was respected by other Indian tribes so long as the claimants were strong enough to make it respected and no longer. It is more than doubtful whether, at the time of the settlement, a single Indian tribe was living on territory which it could justly claim as its own country. The right of the tribes to the lands they occupied at that time—as well as more recently—was purely and simply of the same nature as that of the European governments which disturbed them: the right of conquest.

The Iroquois Confederacy killed and conquered the people of its own race from the Hudson to and beyond the Great Lakes, to the Illinois and Michilimackinac, to the Sandusky and the Miami of the Lakes—to Montreal and Lake Superior. By these

leagued tribes the Algonquins were harrassed and scattered and several of their tribes conquered and exterminated. They crushed the Delawares—the noble Delawares of Romance—"made women of them," took their land from them and afterwards sold or ceded it. They drove the Wyandottes from the valley of the St. Lawrence. They destroyed the Eries and blotted their tribal name out of history.

The original location of the Iroquois was north of Lake Superior. They removed thence to avoid their hereditary enemies, the Wyandottes and Algonquins. Then they vanquished and expelled the Shawnees and took their country. They procured fire-arms from the French and Dutch—then turned upon their old foes of the Wyandotte and Algonquin races and almost exterminated them. They relentlessly pursued the scattered remnants and compelled them to seek a refuge among the Sioux, then west of Lake Superior. They pushed their career of conquest to the Mississippi. By them the Illinois were decimated; a bloody work which the Sacs and Foxes afterward carried on to extermination. The Cherokees exterminated the Euchees and took their country. The Creeks conquered the Natches, the Savannahs, the Ogeechees and other Florida tribes. According to their own tradition, the Sioux drove the Iowas from the St. Peter's "because there was plenty of buffalo" in that region. They expelled the Cheyennes from the Cheyenne River for the same reason—forced them to seek a home further west, and subsequently drove them still further toward the setting sun. There was continuous warfare between the Sioux and the Sacs

and Foxes, the Winnebagoes and the Iowas and Potawattamies, and their numbers were rapidly diminished. The Chippewas were at war with the Sioux for three hundred years, and finally drove them out of the country they had seized. The Sacs and Foxes, who afterward occupied that region, were also driven thence by the Chippewas; and the former in their turn destroyed the tribes of the Illinois and seized upon the Rock River Valley. Every rood of the territory claimed by the Chippewas was obtained by conquest from other Indian tribes.

The Assiniboines—who seceded from the Sioux—engaged in incessant war with the parent tribe. The Poncas have been driven by the attacks of the Sioux to ask for a removal. This fierce tribe—the Sioux—committed constant outrages and attacked and murdered the Winnebagoes, the Omahas, the Ottos and the Missourias in their own country. By their unrelenting hostility, they forced the Pawnees to leave their country north of the Platte, and seek a refuge south of that river. Even this they were subsequently compelled to abandon. In short, if the Pawnees had not been removed the Sioux would have killed them off in detail. The history of the aborigines in their transactions with each other is a frightful record of cruelty, robbery, treachery and blood, to which the annals of the human race afford no parallel. The most unrelenting and destructive enemies of the Indians have been the Indians themselves.

When our knowledge of the Delawares commences, they had been conquered by the Iroquois, and



had submitted. The record of a council held at Philadelphia in 1742, shows us the attitude assumed by Indian conquerors to the conquered of their own race. The Iroquois had appealed to the Governor of Pennsylvania, as the acknowledged paramount authority, to remove the Delawares from a tract of land which they had ceded to Pennsylvania several years before, but the possession of which they refused to relinquish. The complaint was made in open council. Both tribes were present. The representative of the Iroquois announced the decision of his tribe to remove the Delawares and compel them to go beyond the Delaware River. Addressing them, he said :

"Cousins, let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and stretched till you recover your senses and become sober. How came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you. We made women of you. You know you are women. And is it fit that you should have the power of selling lands? You would abuse it. The land you claim is expended. You have been provided with clothing, meat and drink by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it back again, like children as you are ! For all these reasons, we charge you to remove instantly. We do not give you the liberty to think about it. Don't deliberate, but remove and take this belt of wampum. It forbids you, your children and grandchildren to the latest posterity, forever, to meddle in land affairs. Neither you nor any who shall descend from you are ever hereafter to presume to sell land.

"In memory of this, you are to preserve this string. We have other business to transact with our white brothers, so leave the council and think over what has been said to you."

From the beginning of the struggle for independence, the Continental Congress spared no endeavors to induce the Indian tribes to remain neutral. Commissioner after commissioner was sent to them, council after council held, and address after address issued to them, but to no purpose. After a season of ambiguous declarations and deceitful delays, almost to a man they took up the hatchet against the patriots.

The United Colonies were poor in money. They could not vie with the British Indian Department in the bestowal of presents upon the Indians, who deeming the richer also the stronger—Indian-like—embraced the cause of those they believed to be most likely to triumph.

With the exception of a few Oneidas and Tuscaroras who acted as guides and scouts, and the Stockbridges of Massachusetts, who raised a company, every tomahawk and every scalping-knife was against the Americans. How they used their savage weapons—what merciless, perfidious foes they were, history tells on one of her bloodiest pages—perhaps her bloodiest page. She shows us Joseph Brandt—the fierce Thayendenega—with his Iroquois, tomahawking the sleeping settlers in the devoted Mohawk, Schoharie and Wyoming Valleys, sparing neither sex nor age, torturing, plundering and destroying—not meeting the patriots on the field and fighting a manly fight—Brandt never attacked troops—

but striking defenceless settlements in the dead and darkness of night and going from dwelling to dwelling, burning and massacring old men, women and children. She shows the Indians killing and scalping the wounded under the surgeon's care, at Minisink, and the civilized, educated, Christian Indian, Brandt, burying his tomahawk in the brain of Major Weidner, whom he personally knew, as that officer lay wounded and dying on the field.

It would take volumes to record the atrocities committed by the Indians during the Revolution on the frontier settlements of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Even to read of them after time has rolled a hundred years over their memory makes the blood run cold, and drives the reader heart-sick from the page. The last blow aimed at the regular troops of the Colonies was dealt by the Creeks when they made a treacherous night attack on General Wayne's forces in the neighborhood of Savannah. The debt this Government owes the Indian tribes for their part in the war of Independence is one which a civilized and Christian nation can not pay in kind.

After Great Britain had withdrawn her forces—after peace had been proclaimed—the Indian tribes of the West refused to bury the hatchet. They still continued to plunder, burn and destroy settlements. From the peace in 1783 to 1790, the Indians on the Ohio, and the frontiers, wounded, killed, and led into a captivity worse than death, more than fifteen hundred men, women and children. They took two thousand horses, and seized and destroyed a vast

quantity of property of all kinds. The Government made every effort to effect a peace by negotiation, but without avail, and in self-defence it was compelled to have recourse to hostile operations.

General Harmer was badly beaten by the Indians, however, and St. Clair who came after him disastrously defeated. Before General Wayne was sent against them with another expedition, commissioners were sent to endeavor to arrange a peace. They were massacred. Nevertheless, when General Wayne reached the Indian villages, he sent messengers to the Indians asking them to meet him in council with a view to concluding a permanent peace. But they were determined on hostilities, and pacific measures being fruitless, Wayne attacked them and gained a decisive victory. As is usual when they are beaten, they began to think about peace.

The retention of the frontier posts by the British, led the Indians to believe that their late allies would soon renew the war. The efforts of Brandt and the Canadian authorities were constantly employed to prevent the conclusion of a permanent peace. We have it on Brandt's own authority that endeavors were making to form a great Indian confederacy for the purpose of hostile operations on an extended scale against the United States. The Indians were given to understand that they would receive assistance from their English brethren, but they got nothing from them beyond supplies of ammunition. The British authorities then seeming to wish that a peace should be concluded, Brandt with the Six Nations tried to bring it about, when, to use his own words,

the United States were so desirous of it, that they sent commissioners from among their best people to make peace with the hostile Indians; but when the Indians were on the point of making a treaty with the commissioners, they found, to their surprise, that it was opposed by those acting under the British Government, and hopes of further assistance were given to the western Indians to encourage them to insist upon the Ohio as a boundary between them and the United States. They were also incited to continue hostilities by envoys from the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi, offering and promising them assistance from the Spanish and French settlements in the Southwest. They were assured by these emissaries that the Creeks, Cherokees, Choc-taws and Chickasaws were on their feet, with tomahaws uplifted, ready to strike the common enemy.

At a council held at the mouth of the Detroit river with the hostile nations, Governor Simcoe and Brandt advised them not to accept any terms of peace that did not give them the Ohio as a boundary. The Governor even proposed that they should convey their lands west of the Ohio to the King, that a pretext for armed interference might be afforded. At the same time, as some of the chiefs, with customary duplicity, were holding a council with General Wayne, they were advised to amuse the Americans with a prospect of peace until Spring, when the Indians could fall upon them unexpectedly and conquer them. The English would then be ready to attack the Americans on all sides, and drive them back across the Ohio. This advice was adopted.

The treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay between the United States and Great Britain, put an end to the hopes of the Indians, and they made the treaty of Greenville, 1795, which closed the war. Convinced, as Brandt afterwards declared, that they were deceived in their hopes of assistance from Great Britain, they ceased to be unanimous in their opposition to the Americans. "The consequence was that General Wayne, by the peaceable language he held toward them, induced them to hold a treaty at his own headquarters in which he concluded a peace entirely on his own terms." General Wayne's terms were generous; though, from his remarks, Brandt did not seem to think so. The treaty of Greenville provided that in consideration of goods heretofore received—those then to be received and those stipulated to be delivered thereafter—to indemnify the United States for losses and expenses during the war, certain lands were ceded and relinquished forever. The United States relinquished their claim to certain other lands—paid goods to the amount of \$20,000 down—and agreed to give the Indians goods to the value of \$9,500—reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods at the place of purchase—annually thereafter forever.

The European Governments who claimed the various regions of North America by right of discovery, looked upon the natives as heathens who had no rights which Christians were bound to respect. The mildest view they took of the status of the aborigines was that they were children to be governed. They claimed for themselves the right of eminent

domain and recognized in the Indians a very limited proprietorship of the lands on which they actually were.

They denied that vagrant peoples living by the chase, could claim as property, the vast regions which they only passed over in hunting or merely looked upon from some mountain crest. They made grants of extensive districts without taking the natives into consideration. These were at best only tenants at will, removable whenever it was desirable or convenient to remove them. Only a usufructuary interest was conceded to them. They could not dispose of their land or any portion of it, except to the power claiming by right of discovery or its subjects with its sanction. Puritan, Cavalier or Quaker, Briton, Dutchman, Frenchman or Spaniard—whoever came provided with a grant of land—was determined to have it—peaceably if he could, forcibly if he must. It was found less troublesome to purchase the goodwill of the local chiefs by presents of clothing or trinkets, or even by comparatively insignificant sums of money than to take the land by force. It is only fair to say, however, that if the first settlers were not very particular how they got the coveted land, neither were the Indians very scrupulous as to their title to the lands they sold. The Plymouth colonists bought lands from a tribe which had been dispossessed by the Pequods. The latter tribe wished to sell the land themselves and receive the purchase money—hence their hostilities against the Colonists.

When the independence of the Colonies was acknowledged, all the rights which resided in the Gov-



ernment of Great Britain were transferred to the United States. In the Treaty of Peace the British Government made no stipulation for the pardon or protection of its savage allies, but left them to shift for themselves, and make what terms they could with the new nation. Within the boundaries of the territory ceded to the United States by the British Government, was the country of its devoted adherents—the Six Nations. The Indians, as we have seen, had been the cruel and inveterate enemies of the struggling patriots, and, after their civilized principals had withdrawn from the contest, refused to lay down the tomahawk. They had forfeited every right by every human law. But the Americans had not fought to subjugate or to destroy, but to liberate and to save. The young Republic received them into its friendship and under its protection, pardoned their hostility and their atrocities, and generously conceded to them a higher and a stronger title than any European Government had ever accorded to them. It recognized them as quasi-independent nationalities, holding a limited sovereignty, capable of treating and being treated with, admitted their proprietorship of the land which thenceforth could not be taken from them without their consent, and without a valuable consideration acceptable to themselves. The right of eminent domain remained with the United States. History records no other instance in which the vanquished were treated with such magnanimity by the victors. That it did not succeed in awakening the slightest sentiment of gratitude in the Indian mind the history of a few years later attests.

For some years previous to the war of 1812 the Shawnee prophet, Elksattawa and his warrior brother Tecumseh—half-Creeks by birth—had endeavored by appeals to the fanaticism of their race to unite all the tribes North, South and West, in a great confederacy for the purpose of making war upon the United States, and exterminating the white settlers. Their Creek blood gave them influence with the tribes of the Southwest and, as Shawnees, they had equal advantages among the Indians of the West and North. Their efforts were successful to a remarkable degree. A widely spreading conspiracy was organized. Large bodies of Indians began to concentrate near the Prophet's village at the mouth of the Tippecanoe. Gen. Harrison marched with a force into that region to uncover the designs of the Indians. On the arrival of this force, the Indians gave no signs of intended hostility. Messengers were sent by the Prophet to General Harrison and it was agreed that there should be no hostile movements for the time in order to allow of a council being held in the morning with the chiefs, and measures being adopted tending toward a peace. The emissaries showed Gen. Harrison a good place for his encampment. There was no reason to suspect treachery nor was any suspected. The army was rather a corps of observation, and forcible measures were not to be adopted if they could be avoided. When night fell the Prophet began to "make medicine"—or, consult the omens—in his medicine lodge. He pronounced the "medicine good," and in the night a sudden and unexpected attack was made

upon General Harrison. The Americans lost heavily but the Indians were beaten and their loss was very severe. Not being able to do anything else for the moment they sued for peace.

Their pacific attitude was deceitful. The Shawnee leader and the Prophet did not relax their efforts to organize the tribes. No sooner was war declared against Great Britain in June, 1812, than the Indians began hostile operations. Delawares, Wyandottes, Miamis, Shawnees, Pottawattamies, Winnebagoes, Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Seminoles, &c., &c., regardless of treaty obligations, unmindful of the generosity with which they had been treated by the Government when abandoned by Great Britain—all, at once raised the tomahawk for the British Crown. Though the Sioux had made a treaty of peace with the United States and ceded a tract of land at the mouth of the Minnesota for the establishment of a military post, they took up the hatchet for Great Britain and formed a part of the force which besieged Fort Meigs and compelled the surrender of Michilimackinac. The Indians attacked the whole western frontier and committed horrible outrages. The Creeks butchered three hundred men, women and children at Fort Mimms and piled atrocity on atrocity until their power was arrested by the vigorous operations of General Jackson. That their mode of warfare was not less barbarous than it had been thirty years before—the story of Frenchtown—where the wounded and prisoners were tomahawked or burned to death—terribly proves.

The death of Tecumseh in the Battle of the

Thames deprived the league of its head. Most of the tribes were now as anxious for peace, with its pleasant concomitants of goods and annuities, as they had been eager for war before. And once more they were admitted to the protection and friendship of the United States.

In the treaty by which peace was made with the Creeks it was provided that "the Creeks being reduced to extreme want, not having the means of subsistence, the United States from motives of humanity will continue to furnish gratuitously the necessaries of life until the crops shall be competent to yield them a sufficient supply."

It was stipulated by the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Ghent that the Indian tribes should be notified of the ratification of that treaty, and on agreeing to desist from all hostilities, and so desisting, should be placed on the same footing as before the war. In March, 1815, after the treaty had been ratified, the President appointed Governor Clark of Missouri Territory, Governor Edwards of Illinois Territory and Auguste Chouteau, Commissioners for the execution of that article. The commissioners notified the Sacs of Rock River and the adjacent country of the conclusion of the treaty and the stipulations it contained regarding them. They invited the Indians to send a deputation of chiefs to meet them for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace. The Sacs, however, not only declined the friendly overture but refused to discontinue hostilities and committed many depredations and outrages. By refusing compliance with the ninth article, they of course forfeited

all rights under it. Yet when they came afterwards imploring mercy, suing for the peace they had spurned and the friendship and protection of the United States, their suit was granted. They were placed on the same footing upon which they had stood before the war—the United States, in the language of the treaty of peace made with them in May, 1816—"being always disposed to pursue the most liberal and humane policy toward the Indian tribes within their territory, preferring their reclamation by peaceful measures to their punishment by the application of the military force of the nation."

The project of colonizing the Indians in a district of country specially set apart for them—where they should be removed from contact with the white man, was first conceived and proposed by the Indians themselves. The hunter portion of the Cherokees presented a petition to Mr. Jefferson in 1805 praying that they might be permitted to put such a project in execution. Mr. Jefferson expressed the willingness of the Government to accede to their desire, and assured both those who should emigrate and those who should remain, of the paternal interest of the Government in their welfare and of its aid and protection. The Cherokee plan eventually became the avowed policy of the Government. The anti-emigration Creeks and Cherokees, living within the limits of the States of Georgia and Alabama, made a claim of sovereignty and denied the power of the states to extend the operation of their laws over the members of the tribes. Such an *imperium in imperio* was of course inadmissible. The Indians were

offered the alternative of submitting to the laws of the states in which they lived, becoming citizens of those states and of the United States, and receiving a generous allotment of land in fee-simple to each head of a family, or removing to the territory set apart for them, joining their brethren who had already emigrated, getting acre for acre of land for that which they should cede, with large sums in cash, compensation for their improvements, free transportation, and subsistence for one year after their arrival in their new country. But they did not want to do either. Each tribe was split into two bitterly hostile factions and bloody intestine feuds were the consequence. The Creeks assassinated their Chief MacIntosh by emptying fifty muskets into the room in which he sat, so that no individual could be charged with the murder. The Chiefs of the emigration party—some of the best men in the Cherokee Nation—the Ridges and the Boudinots, signed a treaty by which their tribe was to receive for its land-claims east of the Mississippi \$5,000,000 besides the considerations already mentioned above. The other party, under the lead of Ross, though they had previously expressed their willingness to enter into an arrangement on the same terms, now bitterly opposed the ratification of the compact made with their rivals. It had not been made with them.

The Indians procrastinated, found pretexts for delay, made agreements as to dates of departure and disregarded them. It took years to effect the emigration, but it was finally effected. The Choctaws and Chickasaws moved of their own accord. The

Cherokees, at their request, were allowed to conduct their own removal under the lead of Ross, and were paid for effecting it. The Creeks have always been zealous partizans of the British, a fact due to the Scotch influence and blood in the tribe, and the power of Tecumseh whose mother was a Creek. The Seminoles who are allied to the Creeks and had the same love for the British and hatred of the Americans as the Creeks, were only removed after a sanguinary and protracted war. But all the tribes received the same generous terms as if they had been faithful to their agreements.

The Ross party on their arrival in their new country at once proceeded to crush their rivals of the Ridge party who had preceded them and who were less strong numerically. The leaders of the latter—the Ridges, Boudinot and others—were treacherously assassinated in the most cruel and cowardly manner and actually hacked in pieces. Such remorseless tyrants can the Indians be to members of their own race and even of their own tribe. There is little doubt that it would have been better for the Indians and better for the country in the end if the true issue had been met at the time and they had been compelled to submit to the same laws as the white citizens of the States in which they lived, the tribal organizations dissolved and their members recognized as citizens of the States and of the United States. A question would have been settled which may have to be met hereafter and which may yet cause trouble, war and bloodshed. No such spectacle as Ross surrounding himself with a pretorian



guard of five hundred men, and the instigators and perpetrators of such crimes enjoying immunity from punishment by any human law, would have shocked and humiliated a civilized and Christian people.

The treaty of Payne's Landing provided that the Seminoles should receive for their land in Florida, a proportionate extent west of the Mississippi—\$15,000 compensation for their improvements—and in addition to other annuities secured by the treaty of Camp Moultrie, \$3,000 a year for fifteen years. Their cattle were to be paid for in money, or other cattle furnished them as they should desire—claims against them to the amount of \$7,000 to be liquidated—their transportation to be paid for—a "blanket and home-spun frock" to be given every man, woman and child in the tribe and subsistence furnished them for twelve months in their new home. They have, this day, a credit of \$570,000 in the Treasury of the United States on which interest amounting to \$28,500 is paid them every year. Their claim to the land was a conqueror's claim. They took it from the Euchees and paid them for it by extermination.

Black Hawk, the chief of the Sacs and Foxes, whose name distinguishes one of the Indian wars, was the son of a British Indian. His father was born near Montreal whence he removed to the West while it was still under the dominion of Great Britain. He was a zealous adherent of the British and correspondingly inimical toward the Americans. The son inherited his father's sympathies and his antipathies. Black Hawk, like Tecumseh, was a frequent visitor to the British Indian Department at

Malden and was an annual recipient of presents from the authorities there. He was a follower and imitator of the Shawnee prophet and he also assumed the character of an inspired dreamer. He too conceived the idea of expelling or exterminating the whites—the darling vision of ambitious Indian chiefs and medicine men since the days of King Philip and of Pontiac. Breaking treaty stipulations which had been made years before, he re-occupied the Rock River Valley, began to murder and to rob, killed and mutilated the agent and committed horrible outrages on the peaceful settlers, their wives and children. It has been remarked above that the Rock River Valley did not really belong to the Sacs and Foxes but to one of the tribes of the Illinois who had been decimated by the Six Nations and afterwards exterminated by the Sacs and Foxes. These latter seized the land and had no juster title to it than conquest, if that be a just title. It has been shown also that these same Rock River Sacs forfeited their rights under the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Ghent by refusing to cease hostilities after they had been notified of the stipulations of that treaty and of its ratification. Their subjection was retarded by the breaking out of cholera among the troops sent against them, but it came eventually: and upon submission they were reimbursed for their lands, and are living to-day on the annuities paid them by the United States.

In 1861, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws and Seminoles hastened to unite with the prairie tribes to the north and west of them for

hostile operations against the Government. The head chief of the Cherokees, in open council, gave the wampum to the representative of the Confederacy. On the 7th of October of that year the tribes formally renounced their allegiance to the United States. They entered into a treaty which provided that the sovereignty previously residing in the United States—all reversionary and other interest, right, title and proprietorship should pass to and be vested in the Confederate States. They authorized the President of the Confederacy to take military possession of, and occupy, all their country. They bound themselves to raise immediately a regiment of mounted men for the service of the Confederate Government, and to raise and furnish at any future time such number of troops, in fair proportion to their population, as should be called for. They were to receive \$150,000 in cash and a sum of \$50,000 was to be held as invested for their benefit at six per cent. It is believed that they were shrewd enough to obtain at least one instalment from the Confederate Government.

They raised regiments, attacked all who refused to join them and drove them from the territory. Seven thousand of their people who wished to remain neutral, were thus expelled. They organized expeditions to attack neighboring settlements which were without means of defence and Indians who maintained friendly relations with the Government. They preserved this hostile attitude until the surrender of the insurgent forces, west of the Mississippi. Then they quickly abandoned the losing side and their

Chiefs were soon in Washington begging for a restoration of friendly relations with the Government.

Commissioners were sent at their request to negotiate a peace. The tribes were again admitted to the friendship and protection of the United States and the rights they had again forfeited again restored to them. By all law, they had forfeited their treaty rights and their land reverted to the United States for such disposition as Congress should see fit to make of it. Congress could then have justly decided their future status, obliterated their national character, dissolved their tribal organization, extended over them the operation of the laws and given to the individual members of the tribe in severalty good lands in generous measure, restoring their surplus territory to the public domain. This would have been both a well-merited punishment for the unfaithful and ungrateful chiefs and a means of elevating the humbler members of the tribes to independence of oligarchical rule. It may be that a second opportunity was lost of settling a question which is sure to present itself sooner or later.

The Sioux and the other northwestern tribes along the Missouri River, and between it and the British line, also began to make preparations for war against the Government. Several prominent chiefs were engaged in organizing a general rising to exterminate the white settlers. Canadian Indians, half-breeds and fur-traders had been tampering with the Indians along the boundary and all were making ready to assist in the expected war between Great Britain and the United States.

Previous to the commencement of hostilities messengers had been sent with the wampum to the various tribes to incite them to a general attack on the whites. This excitement reached its height when news was received of the difficulties caused between the two Governments by the arrest of Mason and Slidell. Many Indians of various tribes were induced to trade their furs on the British side of the line and were told by the fur-traders that at the proper time they would be furnished with everything necessary to drive the Americans from the country. Reports were circulated among them that the Government had been defeated in many battles and they were assured that its final overthrow was inevitable. In Wisconsin, Pottawattamie runners were engaged in spreading disaffection among the Menomonies and other Indians.

The Chippewas, Winnebagoes and other Indians, who have strong British proclivities, assumed a threatening attitude and were only waiting for the time to strike. The British half-breeds and fur-traders led the Indians to believe that the intervention of Great Britain was certain and imminent. The Indians were listening for the signal of the first British gun.

Accident, however, fired the train before the time at which the explosion of the mine was intended. Four drunken Indians in Southern Minnesota disputed as to who was the bravest warrior among them. They agreed that he who first should kill a white man should be considered the bravest of the brave. They entered the house of an innocent and unsus-

pecting settler whose hospitality they had often enjoyed—whose hospitality was again extended to them on this very occasion—and suddenly began murdering the inmates, unsuspecting and unprepared. Thus began the Minnesota massacre of 1862. The men of the Minnesota settlements were away fighting the battles of the nation. The old men, the women and the children were unprotected in their homes. This was the Indians' opportunity. Before the bloody work could be stopped the Sioux had killed over eight hundred people, destroyed millions worth of property and committed barbarities too horrible for relation. More than eight thousand persons who had been in the enjoyment of comparative affluence were reduced to dependence on state aid for their subsistence.

In the case of these Indians, the United States for the first time extinguished an Indian title, by right of conquest. But, even in this case, the Government assigned them another reservation and gave them the proceeds of the sale of the lands they had vacated in Minnesota. There are nations—and Christian and civilized nations—that would have made a pyrotechnic display of the Indians engaged in this unprovoked and unexpected massacre, and sent them to reservations in the skies.

The hope that Great Britain would enter the contest was dispelled by the surrender of Mason and Slidell. The Chippewas, Winnebagoes and other Northern Indians deemed it prudent to remain peaceful, and left the Sioux to their fate.

It has almost become habitual with some writers

to contrast the treatment of the Indians in the matter of their lands by the British authorities and by the United States in terms not flattering to the latter. This unfavorable parallel, however, history does not sustain. The Mohawk leader, Brandt, a merciless enemy to the Americans, was a faithful and incorruptible ally of the British. When he removed to Canada with his tribe at the close of the Revolutionary War, he and his people understood that the land granted to them in the Grand River Country was theirs in fee and by a perfect title.

They were sorely disappointed. They had scarcely settled in their new country before the whites began to settle around and among them. Game began to disappear. Time was required to make the Indians successful agriculturists. Brandt conceived the idea of leasing and selling portions of the land to create a fund for the sustenance of his people during the transition from the hunter state to the agricultural, and to insure perpetual annuities for their improvement and civilization. The Colonial Government at once objected. Brandt was informed that his tribe had no such title as he claimed. The right to the soil had been retained by the Government. The Indians had no right to sell or lease a single acre of ground. The land was theirs no longer than themselves should occupy it. The Canadian authorities were determined that the Indians should neither lease nor sell any portion of their grant, nor make use of any part of it except what they cultivated by their own labor. This was the cause of much suffering among the Indians. They were reduced to a



comparatively small portion of land. Their hunting was impaired. Their husbandry was yet so unskilled that many of them were reduced almost to starvation. It was alleged as an excuse for this ungenerous dealing that the government had been deceived with regard to the location and value of the land. This was indignantly denied by the Indians. Council upon council was held but the Mohawks could not obtain a satisfactory settlement of the question. "Land-sharks" had already got among them and the intrigues of these speculators drew from Brandt, in one of his addresses, the bitter complaint that certain characters "who stood behind the counter during the last war," who had never sacrificed anything, were now dictating to the Government what should be done with the Indian lands. A change of Governors seemed to promise a change for the better in the Indian prospects. An agreement was made by which the lands sold or to be sold were surrendered to the Government, which was to issue grants to the persons named as purchasers by the agent of the tribe. The Government was to appoint trustees to receive the fund in trust for the Indians. The Canadian authorities, however, failed to comply with their part of the agreement and this arrangement also came to nought. Their design was to hold the Indians to a tenancy at will. Brandt then tried to enlist the Home Government in behalf of the Indians. An envoy was sent to England, but the opponents of the Indian claim found means to prevent the success of his mission. At length Brandt decided to go to England himself, but, for lack of means, he was unable to

*This I overheard him to prove  
that the U.S. became Canada's prospects  
Refusing Rights in the U.S. A*

carry out his purpose. So exasperated was the Mohawk Chief by what he considered the unfair and ungrateful treatment of his nation that, at one period, he contemplated withdrawing from Canada and seeking a home for his people within the territory and under the protection of the United States. He died without being able to settle these difficulties.

The contrast between the treatment of the Appalachian tribes, the Sacs and Foxes, the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandottes, etc., to whom the United States were indebted only for acts of war, pillage and atrocity, and that of the Mohawks, is not discreditable to the United States.

The Chippewas and Winnebagoes were bitterly inimical to the Americans and were—nay are to this day—strongly English in feeling. Years after the War of 1812 American officers were fired at on Lake Superior, and as late as 1820 a British flag was raised by a chief near Sault St. Mary's before the eyes of General Cass, who, it will be remembered, tore it down with his own hand. Before the treaties of 1837 and 1842 the Chippewas had made over twenty treaties with the United States and broken them all. Yet in consideration of the cessions made by the treaties in the years above mentioned, the United States stipulated to pay them \$22,000 in money for twenty years, and for twenty-five years \$29,500 in goods, and \$230,000 for various purposes. For the cessions by the treaty of 1847 they received \$34,000 in cash, \$1,000 annually for forty six years for the Mississippi bands and for the Pillager band \$3,600 worth of stipulated articles of goods for five years.

The Winnebagoes received for the territory ceded by the treaty of 1846, eight hundred thousand acres of land west of the Mississippi, \$190,000 for various purposes—\$85,000 to be held in trust by the United States for thirty years at 5 per cent., interest to be paid annually. It should be borne in mind that while their hostility to Americans was undoubted their titles to the land were far from unquestionable.

The position of the Indians who came under the jurisdiction of the United States by the annexation of Texas and by cession from the Republic of Mexico, was different from that of Indians on territory which had belonged to England, France or Spain. Texas, on coming into the Union, expressly reserved the right to all vacant and unappropriated lands within her boundaries, and exclusive jurisdiction over them.

The Mexican Government at no time recognized an Indian right to the soil within its jurisdiction, unless a title had been specially granted. It looked upon the Indians merely as a peculiar class of citizens.

In view of the Mexican law, the Supreme Court of the United States for the District of New Mexico decided that the Indians within the territory acquired from Mexico are, by virtue of the provisions of the 8th article of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, citizens of the United States having the same rights as other citizens and no special rights above them.

In the eighteen years following the cession, these New Mexican Indians killed one hundred and twenty-three persons, wounded thirty-two, and led into cap-

tivity twenty-one. They seized and carried away live stock to the value of nearly a million and a half of dollars. Of six treaties made with the Navajos, every one was broken by them before its ratification could be effected. From 1847 to 1865, they were never at peace. These Indians, as has been seen, came under the control of the United States without any claim to the land. But our Government has made no distinction between them and Indians living on territory ceded by Great Britain, Spain or France. They have been conceded the same treaty-making power, assigned reservations, placed under the control of agents, negotiated with and fed and clothed like other Indians within our limits.

On no subject has there been so much wild writing as on this, or evidently less consultation of the official archives. The indignation often eloquently expressed by philanthropic and poetic natures, though prompted by the noblest and most generous impulses, is mistaken—and their denunciation of the Government is not justified by the official record. Indian titles which could not be proved and which conflicted with the claims of other tribes, have been extinguished by double purchases by the United States. Since 1799, more than a hundred millions of dollars have been paid the Indian tribes for the cession of territories which had become useless to them by the disappearance of animals of the chase, and which, even if they had been industrious and disposed to agriculture instead of the reverse, they never could have cultivated. The annuities resulting from these sales of land are to-day supporting tribes which with-

out such aid would exist only in name. No tribe which was in existence at the time of the Declaration of Independence has become extinct.

In comparing the position of the Indians in the British Possessions with that of their brethren in the United States, it must be considered that the former are insignificant in numbers compared with the latter, and that much of their land is undesirable for a white population. When lands are desirable, arrangements for their purchase are made without any unusual delicacy of proceeding in regard to the Indians. Vast tracts have been disposed of at twenty cents an acre. In many cases, the annuities paid the Indians are so small that they do not consider it worth their while to make the journey to the place of payment to receive them. The recognition of a higher title in our Indians—the character of independent nations which they are permitted to assume, makes them more arrogant, more exacting in their demands and consequently more difficult to manage. The fact that there generally seems to be less trouble with the tribes that hold reservations merely by executive order would lead to the inference that the British method may be the wiser one, so far as keeping the Indians in subjection is concerned, but it is certainly much less generous than ours.

In the accounts of the discoverers and the early settlers the native population was extravagantly overestimated. The most careful students of Indian history and the best authorities have reached the conclusion that the Indian population, at the date of the settlement, was not much over half a million

within the same district of country which now bears upon its teeming bosom more than forty millions of a free and happy people. The official estimates place the number of Indians now within the limits of the United States, exclusive of those in Alaska, at two hundred and fifty-two thousand. Tribal and intestine wars—individual and family feuds—are among the most potent causes of this terrible decline. Enmity among Indians is hereditary and implacable—unappeasable between tribes or individuals of the same tribe. Every element of intestine discord was at work at and before the time of the settlement. The aboriginal population did not more than sustain itself.

Next in destructive power comes fire-water; then small-pox, the Indian's objection to vaccination and rejection of civilized medical aid. In 1837, small-pox swept away nearly one-half of the Indian tribes. In that year, ten thousand Sioux fell victims to the scourge. Of the Crows, Cheyennes, Blackfeet, Minatarees, Crees, 25,000 perished in a few months. The Pottawattamies were greatly reduced. The Mandans were decimated. The remnants of the Kaskaskias and the Illinois which were spared by the small-pox were exterminated by merciless enemies of their own race. Again in 1856 and 1857, small-pox carried off many thousands of the Indians in the region of the Upper Missouri and the Yellowstone: Crows, Assiniboines, Blackfeet, Piegans, Arickarees, Mandans, Gros Ventres, &c., &c.

Indian loss in battle with the whites is generally insignificant. It is not in their tactics to expose

themselves. They are not found in the grand clashes of arms where thousands fall. They hover on the flanks of their civilized allies, cut off the stragglers, murder and torture the wounded and the prisoners. Their cardinal principle in what they call war is to kill without risk of being killed. A heavy Indian loss is only possible when they are surprised, surrounded, and there is no chance of scattering, concealment, or flight. Then, when they feel their hour is come, they turn and fight like tigers at bay.

Their principal losses in the War of Independence, as well as in the War of 1812, were the result of camp diseases, exposure and its consequences, colds, consumption, etc., insufficient food, and as in the case of pestilential visitations, trust in the incantations of their Medicine Men. Many ailments and injuries which might have been cured by proper medical aid of course proved fatal under the sorcerer's treatment.

The uncertainty of provision in the hunter state, the exposure it necessitates—the transition from periods of famine when game is hard to find, to seasons of gluttonous enjoyment when it is plenty—the condition of the women, the severe and unremitting labor exacted of them—a most effectual obstacle to increase—the prevalence of abortion among the younger squaws—immoderate indulgence in sexual pleasures—the pride and indolence of the males which left the crops that bountiful nature furnished in profusion, such as the wild rice, to wither ungathered and allowed their women and children to die of starvation while it rotted around them—these are all

factors in the deadly problem. "He who believes that all the misery of the Indians is caused by the coming of the whites," writes one who has lived among them for twenty years, "should know that tribes have starved and died in the winter because they were too lazy to gather in the Fall what Providence placed before them."

The following figures taken from the official records show the number of Indians killed by whites and by their own people in the year 1875-76. As it was a year of Indian hostilities it is necessarily a favorable period statistically for the Indians: for the proportion of Indians killed by whites would be presumably greater than ordinary, while it may be assumed that the number of Indians killed by Indians would be smaller:

No. of Indians killed by U. S. troops,	122
"      "      "      " citizens,	85
"      "      "      " other hostile Indians,	55
"      "      "      " members of the same tribe,	162

The Government of the United States has repeatedly interposed between Indian tribes hostile to each other, and made peace between them. Its good offices put an end to the bloody war of three hundred years between the Chippewas and the Sioux. Its efforts effected a truce between those enemies for centuries: the Sacs and Foxes and the Sioux. It has thrown its protecting shield before the weaker tribes and prevented the Cherokees and the Creeks from annihilating a third of their own tribes in the cruel party feuds which followed their emigration. And, finally, the Government of the United States has



saved more than one Indian tribe from extermination by exasperated communities whose most cherished members they had treacherously massacred, outraged or tortured.

Next to intestine struggles, among the causes of Indian decline and degradation, must be ranked the uncontrollable passion for strong drinks. It is true that the deadly draught was first presented to the Indian by the white man. Hendrick Hudson and his Dutchmen pledged the chiefs they first met on the banks of the Hudson in goblets of ardent spirits. The Pilgrims gave Massasoit "a cup of strong waters" as a mark of courtesy and good will. It was the fashion of those days even with godly folk. But since the Indians came under the jurisdiction of this Government no effort has been spared by those in authority to prevent the sale to them of spirituous liquors. From that period to the present day the quantity of whiskey introduced into the Indian country by white men has been comparatively small. The poison is mostly carried in by the Indians themselves. They will travel from four to five hundred miles to procure it and bring it back to trade it to their own people. It is a lucrative business for them: the whiskey-drinking Indian will part with everything he possesses—his squaws, his children, his pony—even his rifle—to obtain it. The agents of the Hudson's Bay Company have, indeed, been free distributors of alcoholic liquor among the Indians, and have used it as a medium of exchange with them. The British Half-Breeds also have been energetic agents in furthering this wicked commerce with the Indians on our side of the line.

Plenty of low  
this man is a  
Bull-  
No interference;  
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Cave

The American Half-Breeds complained of this for many years. They presented a petition to Governor Ramsay of Minnesota, at the time *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, praying that the Government of the United States would effect some arrangement with that of Great Britain by which the trade in whiskey by agents of the Hudson Bay Company near the border could be stopped.

The wanton destruction of the buffalo by the whites has been the subject of much denunciation : but the most active destroyers of the buffalo have been the Indians themselves. When a market for furs was created by the settlement of the country, the Indians had an additional incentive to the pursuit of the chase. They discovered that they had a money-making business which enabled them to indulge their appetites for articles of foreign production. The introduction of firearms increased their destructive power, and the slaughter of fur-bearing animals was unremitting. Indians have killed hundreds of thousands of buffalo for the robes alone in seasons when the flesh was not good for food.

The fur-bearing animals began to disappear. The Indian's cupidity and improvidence sacrificed his supply of food, and his squaws and children starved in the winter. Land without game was valueless to the Indian. Agricultural labor was degradation. He eagerly embraced opportunities to dispose of vast game-denuded districts for the means of gratifying his passion for trinkets and fire-water. His own hunting grounds exhausted, he trespassed on the grounds of other tribes, thus exciting inter-tribal

wars, bloody, cruel, relentless and interminable. Or he moved further into the wilderness, and, if he were strong enough, boldly invaded the territory of other tribes, dispossessed them by force and occupied their country. Many and bitter complaints have been made by the American Half-Breeds of the Red River country of the destruction of the buffalo on the American side of the line by British Indians and Half-Breeds who hunt on our territory in the spring and fall. The British Half-Breeds kill from fifty to sixty thousand buffalo in a season on United States territory. From the Red River of the North to the head waters of the Missouri, British Indians, the renegade Sioux hostiles, the fugitive Nez-Percés, etc., come south of the line to kill buffalo on the reservations of their American red brethren. Hundreds of thousand are killed by them annually and the robes traded to British traders. The buffalo is to the strong Indian, and the weak must take what he leaves. In 1876-7, when the hostile Sioux were on their way to Canada, they sent runners to the Assiniboines, Yanktonais, Gros Ventres, Piegans and other Indians north of the Missouri, warning them not to hunt the buffalo until the hostile bands had "had three runs." If they began hunting before the Sioux had obtained the supply of meat and robes they required, the latter would attack and kill them, or as it was tersely put in the message, would "soldier" them. They were actually prevented from hunting buffalo and driven from the Milk River country whither they had gone for that purpose, by the hostile Sioux. The glorious freedom of Indian life is a mirage of

poetical imaginations. The Indian is not free even to kill the game on his own hunting-grounds, if a stronger red intruder wishes to keep it for himself.

The institution of Chieftainship and the order of Medicine Men are powerful obstacles to the civilization of the Indian race. The former is probably of comparatively recent origin: the latter seems to have existed from time immemorial. Some tribes say they had no chiefs before the white man came. The Sioux have a tradition that their first chief was made by the British.

The Medicine Man wields a terrible influence over the great mass of Indians. He is armed with supernatural powers of the most appalling description. He is the real arbiter of peace and war. The influence of the Medicine Men was the principal cause of the Indian wars from 1811 to 1817. To this day, the warriors must stay their arms until the Medicine Man decides for war by pronouncing the "medicine good." The Medicine Man has this advantage over the chief, that while the latter must wait for his sanction, he can raise a war-party at any time. He is therefore a potent factor in the problems of Indian politics. Like his own gods he can be placated by gifts. His lodge is generally kept full of meat: and he is used by ambitious chiefs and young men to further their plans for advancement, and counteract those of their rivals.

The Medicine Men are naturally opposed to schools for the Indian children: education and enlightenment would put an end to their occupation. The

chiefs also are opposed to the education and civilization of their people. They know that the result is sure to be the solution of tribal unity, severalty of possession of the land and the consequent destruction of their authority. The tribal system is the basis of an aristocracy, and its abrogation reduces them from the position of leaders to the common level. They will always be found arrayed against the partition of the land, as they have always opposed per capita payments of annuities and contended for their payment in gross to themselves as representatives of their tribes. No doubt there have been dishonest officials and greedy traders who have received considerable portions of the funds appropriated for Indian uses, but the robes of their own people are far from spotless in such matters. It is known that in cases where annuities were paid to the chiefs, not more than ten per cent. of the amount received by them reached the profane vulgar of the tribe. Traders probably received a good portion of the ninety per cent., but as the chiefs were the disbursers it is fair to assume that they had the chief's share—which, no doubt, was also the lion's.

The attitude of the frontier population toward the Indian is mistaken and misrepresented. Mr. Monroe, → on his return from his western tour, said that the worst Indians he had met were the whites on the frontier. But it would be cruelly unjust to include in this sweeping censure the honest, hard-working settler, who takes his wife and children with him to hew himself a homestead out of the forest. The general feeling of the bona fide settler toward the

*Monroe was right - Look  
at the Paxton Rip &  
Thousands of others*

Indian is kindly, and his treatment of him—when the Indian comes with ostensibly peaceful intent—generous and hospitable. The general desire is to be on friendly terms with him. But when the settler's hospitality is repaid by some sudden—and as far as he is concerned—wanton treachery, when, returning home some evening to rest by his fireside after the labors of the day cheered by the smiles of those he loves, he sees his cabin in flames, or finds the dead, dishonored, mutilated bodies of his wife and children upon the home-floor, the hearth-stone stained with their blood, he would be more than human, or less than man if the sight of an Indian in the vicinity of his cabin were ever afterwards an agreeable one to him. No one who has not lived where the frontiersman and the Indian live—no one who has not seen dangling from the belt of a savage the long tresses of a white woman whom some one loved as a sister, cherished as a wife, or worshiped as a mother, can fairly pronounce judgment between the Indian and the honest settler on the frontier.

Between the industrious, honorable colonist and the Indian, however, there is a class of vicious and degraded whites thrown out by the advancing tide of civilization as the filthy refuse of approaching vessels is cast by the wave upon the sea-shore. These are the murderers, the thieves, the outlaws who, expelled from civilized communities, seek shelter from justice, among the Indians, or on the debatable land between the latter and the honest pioneers of industry. Unfortunately, it is from this class that the Government is sometimes compelled to take its guides, scouts,

couriers, and, occasionally, even its interpreters. They are, as Cotton Mather said of the Indians—"the veriest ruins of mankind." These are the whites who—as Mr. Monroe said—are worse Indians than the Indians themselves. It would, perhaps, be more just to say that they are as bad as the bad Indians and worse than the good ones.

Friends of the red race—civilians of large experience in Indian affairs have not hesitated to declare that the removal of the Indians from the control of the War Department was an impolitic measure. Schoolcraft, whose sympathy with the Indian tribes was as sincere as his study of their history, antiquities, traditions, modes of thought and action, was profound and comprehensive, thus wrote on this subject :

"It is undeniable that since the disunion of the two (sword and olive-branch) by transferring this branch of service from the War to the Interior Department, the management of our Indian affairs on the line of the frontier has not gone on so well."

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Central Superintendency in 1857, wrote in his official report for that year :

"A growing spirit of insubordination is everywhere manifested among the wild tribes of the prairies. To subdue and control this spirit, a cordial co-operation among the various civil and military agents of the Government is indispensable, and this can only be effected by restoring to the War Department the control of the Indian service."

The Interior Department has been placed at a

disadvantage by the shortening of the agents' term of office to four years, the frequent changes caused by internal exigencies in the same party—and by the passage of governmental authority from one political party to another. An agent who enters the Indian service without any previous experience, no matter how great may be his ability, is only beginning to learn something about Indians at the end of four years. It would be a great step in advance if tenure of office in this branch of the public service were made contingent on demonstrated fitness, fidelity and capacity. In the first treaty concluded with an Indian tribe after the Declaration of Independence—that made with the Delawares in September, 1778—the United States contracted to give them “an intelligent, candid agent, with an adequate salary; one more influenced by the love of his country and a constant attention to the duties of his department by promoting the common interest, than the sinister purposes of converting and binding all the duties of his office to his private emolument.” It must be confessed that the Government has not always selected Indian agents according to the treaty pattern, nor can its failure to do so be excused by the fact that the Delawares broke their part of the contract immediately—before the ink with which it was written had time to become thoroughly dry. The salary of an Indian agent is not at all commensurate with the responsibility and importance of the position. Furthermore, an agent whose charge is a few hundred semi-civilized Indians of some declining tribe, the subjugation of which dates back half a century, re-



ceives as large compensation as one who has to control eight or ten thousand semi-hostile Indians still in a state of almost primitive barbarism. The laborer is worthy of his hire ; and the good one can rarely be obtained without it. That Andrew and Thomas Lewis, Esquires, Commissioners for and in behalf of the United States of North America for the conclusion of the treaty of 1778, were too wise to expect to get him on other conditions, is shown by the provision that the "candid, intelligent agent" shall be paid "an adequate salary."

Serious difficulties have been caused between the Government and the Indian tribes by the ignorance and incapacity of persons whom it is sometimes compelled by the force of circumstances to employ as interpreters. These are too frequently ignorant and vicious Half-Breeds and illiterate and degraded whites—squaw men—who know little of the Indian languages and almost as little of their own. A high authority on Indian matters states the curious fact that it is generally the most debased in morals and the lowest in intellectual capacity, who obtain most readily some little knowledge of the Indian tongue orally. Few of this class are more trustworthy than they are competent. It is worth considering whether, in view of this state of affairs, it would not be wise for the Government to train a corps of efficient interpreters by taking a certain number of intelligent white youths, annually, and causing them to be carefully instructed in the Indian tongues, attaching them permanently to the Indian Bureau and detailing them when proficient as interpreters at the vari-

ous agencies. In a few years the Indian office would thus have a respectable and competent corps of interpreters, on whose intelligence and fidelity it could rely. This plan would open a new career for our youth and afford them a respectable and permanent employment. The opportunities would be eagerly embraced, and in making its appointments of cadet-interpreters the Interior Department would only have the embarrassment of selection. It would seem that with capable, honest, adequately paid agents, and a corps of permanent, intelligent and faithful interpreters, it could not make very much difference whether the Indians were under the immediate control of a civilian attached to the Interior Department or under one attached to the Department of War. The question of the re-transfer, however, is one which must be left for decision to the legislative wisdom of the nation; and it is not deemed unsafe to say that the army does not desire it.

The colonization plan—so long the settled policy of the Government—in furtherance of which unceasing efforts have been made and vast sums expended, has not been productive of commensurate results. After nearly half a century the great mass of the Appalachian group of tribes scarcely show a perceptible advance. Civilization has not reached below the immediate families of the principal chiefs. The Indians can not be civilized by isolation. The object of the Indian originators of the colonizing scheme was not civilization, but the preservation and perpetuation of the manners and customs of savage life.

Colonization is in reality only an extension of the reservation system, having the same defects and subject in the end to the same dangers. The same forces that press upon the borders of the reservations will in the course of time exert themselves against the boundaries of the colonies—nay, they are already doing so. It is useless to expect that the tide of improvement can be stayed by geographical lines. People will not be content to crowd and press each other for a little land to be cultivated for the support of themselves and their families, while millions of acres, three-fourths of which lie waste, are held by communities comparatively small in numbers. It is calculated that 8,000 acres of land in a wild state are required for the support of a solitary Indian by the chase. On eighty acres, well cultivated, an industrious white man can support himself and his family. The Indian lands must eventually be reduced to the extent the Indians will cultivate. To prevent such a reduction being effected by measures more or less violent, the Government will be compelled to continue purchasing from the Indians and making terms with them for amicable cession. No plan for the civilization of the Indians can be ultimately successful that does not contemplate their absorption into the general body of citizens, by severalty of possession in the lands—individual proprietorship and responsibility—by the abolition of tribal entity and the extension over the red man of the same laws that govern other citizens, be they white or black. Among the best Indians on our Continent to-day are those Indians of California, for whom the

Government does nothing—who do not own an acre of land, who live quietly among, and earn a living—scanty though it be—by working for, their white neighbors.

The absurdity of recognizing independent nationalities within our own limits is admitted by all serious thinkers and writers on Indian affairs. The Indians are a patriarchal people who have no proper representative government—no treaty-making authority. One set of families immediately breaks the treaty another has made. The Government of the United States is not responsible for the treaty system: that system came to it by inheritance. Honor demands that it should do what is nominated in the bond. The Indian tribes by continued infractions of the terms of treaties absolved the United States from all legal obligation to perform its part of the compacts. But this Government has not done as other governments have done in similar cases: taken advantage of the rupture of treaty stipulations to divest the other contracting party of all rights. On the contrary, it has restored to the Indians, for the hundredth time, the rights which it had conferred on them and which they had a hundred times forfeited.

It is not easy to avoid taking a sentimental view of this question—to see it uncolored by the haze of poetry and romance, through which we have been accustomed to look upon it from childhood. The sympathy of gentle hearts goes out instinctively toward the weak—often without pausing to inquire whether the weakness they pity be, or not, the result of a wilful persistence in unhealthful courses or blind

efforts at resistance to irresistible forces. They are touched by the sad spectacle of a people whom poetic fancy endows with a sublimity of character they rarely possess, fading away from the face of the earth. But sympathy for a decaying race should not drive us into unjust denunciation of our Government. We must try to read the history of that race and of the Government of the United States in their transactions with each other, by the clear, cold, judicial light of the record. Since the foundation of this Government the Indian has fought against his own improvement and elevation. And if he continues to do as he has done—as his ancestors did before him—his extinction is certain. It is but a question of time; and all the United States can do is to make his passage out of contemporary history as little painful as possible. In the struggle between civilization and barbarism the former is always victorious in the end.

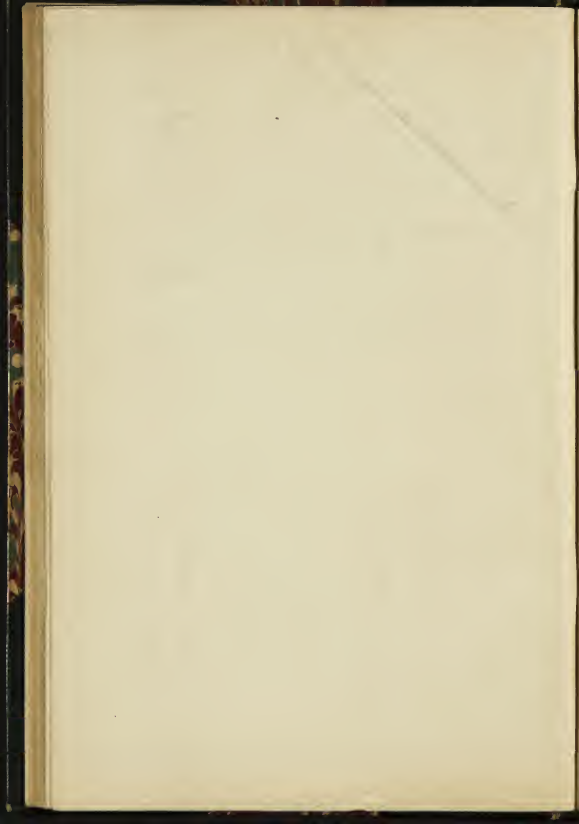
The hope of ultimate civilization is with the children. Manual labor schools can be multiplied; good and wise teachers—adequately paid—can be provided for them. And here is a channel through which the poetical regard of the cultured wealthy for the Indian may be given a more practical shape. Donations and bequests for the education of Indian children are rare. Perhaps many a sympathizer in the abstract owes the wealth which enables him to luxuriate in lettered ease to a lucky purchase of Indian land by some pioneer-ancestor of a past century. Here is an opportunity in equity.

Even from the children we must not expect too

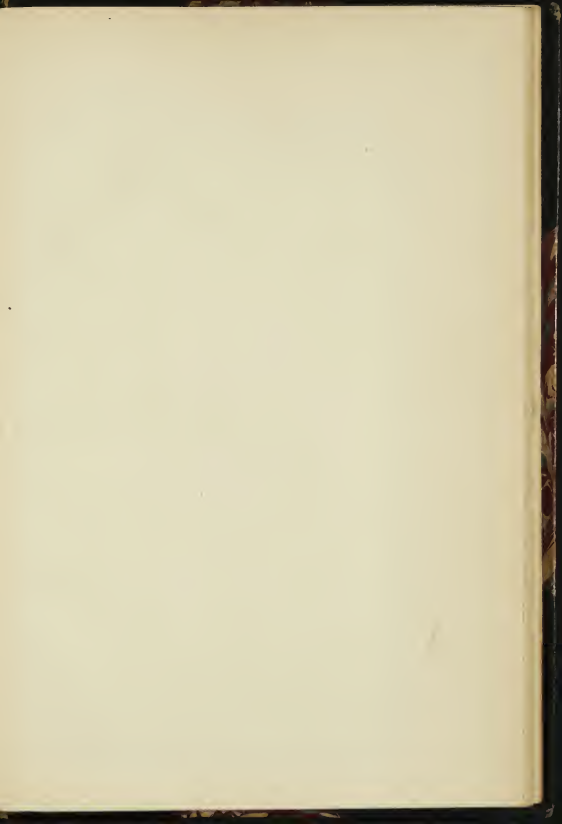
much, nor must we try to push them forward too fast. Indian civilization is of slow growth—when it grows at all. It must always be borne in mind that the wild Indian of to-day is nearly what his ancestors were three hundred years ago—that the children to be taught are his children, born in his wigwam, and more or less imbued with his traditions. Their minds are not capable of assimilating theories. They must be taught industry, sobriety, honesty, purity, by practical appeals and example. Their moral and religious training must be rather in the direction of practical than of dogmatic Christianity: there must be much patience and indulgence; and above all, there must not be too much zeal.

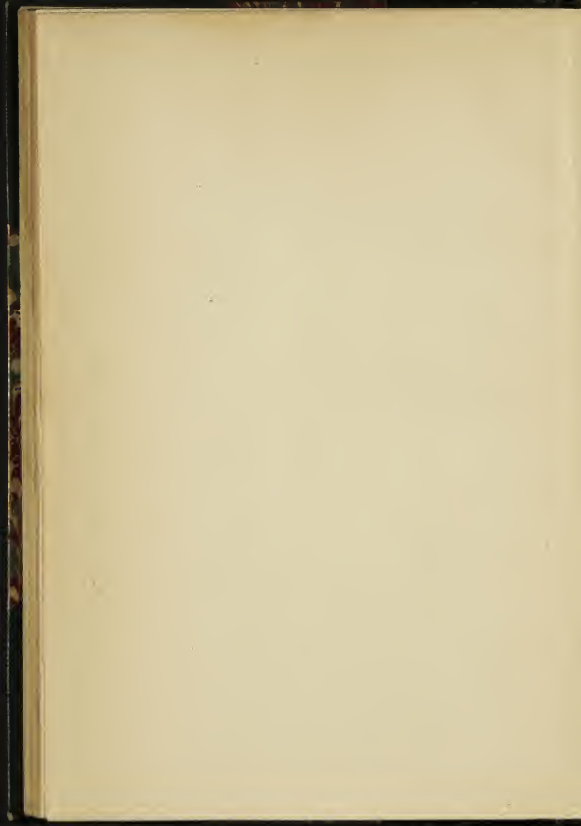
The civilization of the adult Indian of the present day is a hopeless matter. The problem is to make him keep the peace. If he can be induced to provide even partially for his own support by labor—which is scarcely to be hoped—it is so much gained; the Government must supply what is lacking. No Indian should die of starvation if we can prevent it. The red man is of a stolid, stubborn, suspicious nature. He acts from passion, not from reason. Let our policy toward him be ever that of the First President of the Republic: the use of force only when all efforts for conciliation have been tried and failed; then, not hesitating or uncertain in its application, but swift and sure. Half measures with savages are worse than useless; and only encourage them to the further destruction of valuable lives and property. The Indian's craft far exceeds his bravery. In the civilized meaning of the latter word he is not brave.

The weaker his opponent, the more cruel he. When he sees in his adversary a power he can not resist, he flies or succumbs. Blood and treasure can be saved by making all military expeditions against hostile Indians so strong that the Indian can not hope to oppose them successfully. He is quick to understand such an argument—and it is the only one that convinces him. An adequate and timely show of warlike force would have ended many an Indian trouble of the past without the loss of a life in actual battle. But let the chastening hand be stayed the instant the Indian shows an intention of submitting to the laws. The best Indian policy is that which spills the least blood.

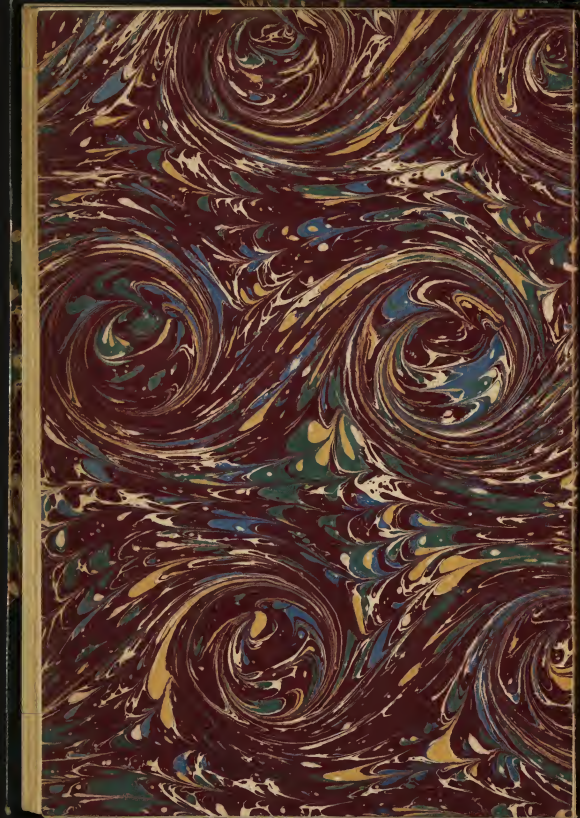














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